DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 244 357 EA 016 788

AUTHOR Lorimer, Rowland
TITLE Defining the Curriculum: The Role of the Publisher.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 23-27, 1984).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Content Analysis; *Curriculum Development; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Marketing; Organization Size (Groups); *Publishing Industry; *Textbook Evaluation; *Textbook Publication
IDENTIFIERS *Canada; Dewey (John); *Multinational Corporations

ABSTRACT

Concentration on the role of educators in curriculum development has ignored the power of the producer/publishers. Canada's elhi (elementary/high school) publishing is dominated by very large multinational publishers. Learning materials in language arts, social studies, and science reflect the business interests of the multinational publishers in content, book organization, and compensatory action by provincial governments. A general overview of the marketing of learning materials points to many devices that are claimed to be pedagogically valuable but that are, more importantly, promotional and marketing devices. The confluence of emphasis between the business interests of multinationals and both deweyan pedagogy and materials selection processes are discussed. The article concludes that two factors (the domination of the market by a homogeneous group of publishers and the parallel tenets of multinational business and contemporary pedagogy) have been responsible for the considerable influence the multinationals have on the curriculum. (Author/MLF)

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DEFINING THE CURRICULUM: THE ROLE OF THE PUBLISHER

Rowland Lorimer
Simon Fraser University

Introduction

The traditional view of the development of the curriculum is that educators outline it, publishers respond to it with materials, and educators select those that are most suitable. This paper argues that publishers are not merely respondents but play a major role in shaping the curriculum.

Large multinational companies dominate educational publishing. As a group they produce a characteristic product, one which befits their business interests and organizational capabilities. This product in its general form has two important properties. First, it is a successful translation of basic pedagogical principles upon which the curriculum is founded into the mass market principles basic to the operation of multinationals. Secondly, so successful has this translation been that the product characteristics which derive from the shared interests of the dominant business firms have come to be accepted as pedagogically necessary for all "good quality" learning materials.

A close examination of several subject areas points to where pedagogy and curriculum designers leave off and where multinationals have taken over in defining the curriculum. Further examination of the control processes in selection procedures illustrates how these companies have consolidated and they will maintain their position of dominance.

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Publishers as Educators

The traditional view of control over curriculum development has educators exerting an overwhelming dominance by laying down curriculum guidelines and subsequently selecting the most appropriate materials for use in the classroom. Such a perspective is parallel to the notion that consumer demand controls the marketplace. It ignores the power of the producers to stimulate and shape demand and also to constrain the choice process. By focussing attention on educators, this view also fails to consider how well the evolved industry structure serves educators as consumers. Such considerations are not esoteric but the very matters governments and their regulatory agencies examine when determining the need for regulation, special tax laws, government incentives, etc. It is that structure, that is to say, the ownership and performance characteristics of the Canadian elementary/high school (elhi) educational publishing industry, and the implications of that structure which is the focus of this paper.

Who are Canada's Educational Publishers?

The most reliable set of figures on Canadian elhi publishing has been provided by Pepperwood Consultants.[1] While these figures are based on only six provinces, all of whom engage in central purchasing, it would be surprising if the total market did not roughly conform to Pepperwood's findings.

As shown in Table 1, 66% of the market is controlled by eight multinational companies. Moreover, the top 18 companies (which include all companies with 1% share or more) control 85% of the market. Of the top 18 perhaps only two could be said to be nationally oriented, Canadian owned companies. The remainder are multinationals.

Table 1
The Dominant Elementary-High School Educational Publishers
Operating in Canada including Ownership,
Market Share and Annual Sales of Parent

Publisher	Ownership	Percent Market Share	Annual Sales of Parent ($ millions)
Gage-MacMillan	Self-owned but affiliated with Scott-Foresman and now owners of Macmillan Canada.	15.6	unknown
McGraw-Hill Ryerson	McGraw-Hill, U.S.	12.5	1,000
Holt, Rinehart and Winston	Columbia Broadcasting System, U.S.	10.5	4,062
Addison-Wesley	Addision Wesley, U.S.	8.4	80
Ginn	Xerox, U.S.	7.9	8,197
Nelson, Canada	International Thomson Org., U.K.	4.3	917 *
Prentice-Hall	Prentice-Hall, U.S.	3.7	353
Copp Clark Pitman	Pitman, U.K.	3.3	unknown

Table 1 also provides some idea of the size of some of the top eight companies although the reader should be cautioned that the sales figures provided are of the international parent company.

The significance of these figures, other than that they identify the companies which dominate the industry, is that they define one major aspect of educational publishing. That is to say, they point out that elhi educational publishing is led and dominated by a very few, enormously large firms. On their coattails hang a number of other subsidiaries of large multinational

concerns with a more limited participation in the market. And finally, a smattering of Canadian companies can be found, enough to demonstrate that the market is not entirely a closed shop.

The question such a pattern of participation suggests is whether the learning materials themselves reflect this dominant business form. We have pursued this question in three subject areas, language arts, social studies and science.

Language Arts in a Mass Market

In two separate studies[2, 3] we addressed this question by describing individual elements of content in elementary language arts readers in their thematic context. At a second level of analysis we discussed the particular themes introduced as elements of a world view contained within the various books which comprised a number of "series" of elementary readers.

The results of those studies suggested that the world portrayed in the elementary reader very closely corresponds to a mass marketers vision of his/her market, that is to say, an aggregate, reduced-to-common-factors pan-cultural world which mass marketers attempt to create through advertising and product development. It is a world of idealized types and settings which mass market producers might use as norms for market planning and development. It is a generic world. Its elements are those of every community but typical of no specific community. Streets, parks, neighbourhoods, families, etc. all occur in generalized form. They are complemented by characters apparently particular or individual but in fact quite general. For example, mayors and contest judges, police and teachers constitute the world outside the family

rather than, in contrast, provincial premiers or Quebec provincial police officers. Individual people are described in terms which do not correspond to real people but reflect a typology of psychological traits manifest in strict social hierarchies. Such position descriptions mean that dominant and submissive behaviour pervade every story. Dramatic force is developed on the basis of anticipated movement or challenge in the hierarchy of characters. Society and institutions are powerful and arbitrary foils for the various characters to test their mettle in order to rise to the heroic or sink to the depths of passive citizenry.

Other elements of this generic world are also noticeable. The world is one boundless, homogeneous community without distinctive subcultures or nations. The social order is the fall-out of each individual competing with every other. Co-operative groupings appear as rear-guard actions to cope with an arbitrary order imposed from "outside" or "on high".

When we discovered this world in two sets of grades 1-3 readers we began looking for it elsewhere. We found it to be almost universal in grades 1-3 readers in general. In the majority, but not all of the grades 4-6 readers we examined we encountered it again, slightly more diverse, slightly more subtle, but nonetheless very much there.

Evaluated in terms of the structure of the industry, we concluded that we were seeing the products of a particular set of mass market oriented publishing companies responding to one level of demands made by educators but taking advantage of silence at another level. That is to say while elementary language arts educators insist on expanding vocabularies and precisely laid out skill development, until very recently they have been quite silent on

content. Content thus follows production and marketing criteria of the dominant elements of the publishing industry.

Having identified what clearly appeared to be content reflective of the dominant business form of educational publishers we decided to extend our inquiry towards identifying production techniques reflective of that same set of interests.

In one particular reading series, one which had been imported into Canada from the U.S. called Reading 720[4] and published by Ginn, a subsidiary of Xerox, we noticed an unusual amount of non-fiction for an elementary reader. Further examination indicated that the books were made up essentially of three types of content. The first was composed of universal or generic fiction, the kind touted to be the best the (English speaking) world has to offer. The second section was universal non-fiction, reportage of human interest events which could be said to have broad appeal, e.g., man conquers space, dog rescues child, etc. The third section was composed of a mixture of fiction and non-fiction with emphasis on the latter, complete with national references. Here we saw such scenes as the Prime Minister visiting a whale in Vancouver along with other interesting journalistic items most with concrete Canadian references.

We interpreted this pattern of organization as another mass market device, one which would minimize the cost of market transferability. Thus, were these books to be used say, in Australia, the one-third mixed Canadian fiction and non-fiction could be replaced with equivalent Australiana. In other words there appeared to be a basic product planned for adaptation to U.S. specifications, Canadian specifications, Australian specifications, or any other set of specifications which might be required for a specific market.

Multinational Social Studies

It was this attention to the structure of the publication which took us into an examination of social studies materials. There we found one program particularly reflective of international market planning. In McGraw-Hill's Social and Environmental Studies[5] (SES) program, a program meant to introduce the child to the individual, the family, the neighbourhood and community, the region and nation and communities and nations of the world, surprisingly, the only content particular to Canada was at the grade three level. This means that were this series to be used in other countries besides Canada, and I am sure that it has been promoted if not sold in other countries, only one grade of the six in the program would need to be replaced. The other subject matter could be republished more or less as is. (Two out of 27 units in the grade 4-6 material contained Canadian content, nothing more than would be appropriate for any English speaking class in any country.)

McGraw-Hill's SES program is fairly distinctive as a social studies program. It is rare for such a low level of historically or culturally specific content to be present at any level of social studies. It seems more than probable that the SES series arose from a marketer's rather than an educator's mind.

At the secondary level we found other interesting patterns in content and structure. In 1968 Hodgetts noted that a consensus version of Canadian history was being presented across the nation.[6] What we found in 1983 was consensus with colour. In ten junior high social studies textbooks examined[7] we found that what students are given of recent history is reference to Prime Ministers, national actions, major confrontations, in short, Canada as a

nation on a path to destiny boiled down to its basics with little interest in diversity or alternate paths. Our growing ethnic plurality with its new internal richness and tensions as well as the varied international liaisons which that plurality is bringing about is quite absent. Major events of a cultural and social significance which could enhance a heterogeneity, such as language legislation or the Berger Inquiry-recommended moratorium on development in the North,[8] fail to find their rightful place. The reason they are omitted or treated as dated events is that such phenomena run against the central focus on nation building and strengthening and thus disturb rather than enrich the overall picture being painted. That some very significant events are not even introduced as part of the colour commentary is probably a good indication of the difficulties any mention would create in the various provincial and smaller fragments of the national market. Clearly, such events would have differential significance. Once "history" as opposed to contemporary events, they can be more safely introduced as interesting diversions belonging only the the past.

It would seem that some depth of exploration of alternative visions and some passing nod at salient sociocultural precedents is necessary for any vision claiming to represent an histroical overview. Consider for instance some of the alternative visions dismissed as confrontations with legitimate governing authority. The rebellions in the Canada's and in the Northwest did not arise out of the ruminations of some madmen attempting to impose their singular and crazy vision upon the world. Indeed, this is recognized to a limited extent in the background discussion of factors which gave rise to these rebellions. Yet none of ten texts reviewed takes the value of the

visions contained in these eruptions seriously enough to explore their heritage or their legacy. Both could be done with requisite background cultural history and by introducing information about countries where such movements won the day. Their legacy could be placed in a Canadian context through conjecture as to what the present day would have been like had they been successful. Or, an attempt could be made to identify how such forces are playing themselves out as non-dominant ideologies in current affairs.

Were such explorations undertaken they would lay the groundwork for discussions of the sociocultural precedents being laid down at present. The absence of discussion of social legislation of major cultural consequence in both a Canadian and a world context ignores our own cultural priorities. The most outstanding example of such an absence is the Berger Inquiry. The process of that inquiry, its report, its recommendations, and subsequent events have been and are being watched the world over. To ignore it along with parallel events which have shaped our cultural history distances students from their forebears who have created our culture. It tends to encourage the view that culture just is, always has been, and always will be. History, in that vein, is a series of amusing but essentially unimportant anecdotes illustrative of who did and who did not fit into the pre-established and immutable social order.

To what extent can this form of history be said to be derivative from the influence of multinational publishers? Multinationals are oriented to economies of the largest possible market. In markets which are too small they decline to participate. The story of nation building is important for any country. That story is what the publishers are prepared to publish because

the national market, inevitably fractured by provinces making separate decisions, is about the smallest market in which they are enthusiastic to participate. To put the matter a little differently, the story of the governing elite with alternative visions of subdominant communities reduced to passing diversions or interruptions in the progress towards a homogeneous steady state is the only story with enough market potential to be worth publishing in Canadian social studies.

But the argument cannot rest on a consideration of content alone. The actions of provincial governments especially with regard to regional histories are particularly telling of the role of the multinationals. Regional histories are commonly commissioned, contracted out by the province, or, in some cases self-published. In the instance of contracting out it is often the case that the contracted publisher ends up to be one which already sells a great many books to the province in other subjects. This is as much because publishers regard this publishing as doing the province a favour as because they want the business.[9] The immense (for Alberta's population) $8.38 million Alberta Heritage self-publishing project of the early 1980s which published and distributed Albertan, Western Canadian and Canadian history and literature demonstrates the woeful inadequacy of normal educational publishing in those subject areas over the years.[10] The more recent initiative of the Maritime Premiers to co-operatively commission work not only in social studies but also in regionally based science is also a recognition of the inherent bias of materials towards content as geographically nonspecific as it is culturally nonspecific.[11] An investigation which would identify the types and orientation of supplementary materials produced by provinces for classroom and teacher use would be quite telling of the shortcomings of the present educational publishing industry.

International Science

Turn of the century science programs in Canada were oriented to making scientific sense out of the environment in which the student lived. Over the years, however, and especially after World War II, emphasis has been placed on scientific inquiry and laboratory research. As with language arts, science educators have come to have a lot to say at one level about just what scientific concepts should be introduced when but have little to say at another level, just what types of examples should be used to introduce and illustrate the concepts.

Under my supervision, Carscallen has compared three multinational produced science programs with three programs developed outside the normal publishing mode.[12] The latter three programs consisted of one developed by the curriculum department of the province of Saskatchewan, one within a research/graduate studies institute, and one by a second province, Manitoba, for a special course on energy.

To take one example, the market orientation of the multinational produced series both in its international aim and also in its U.S. market base is observable in the approach taken to the material along with how that approach is illustrated. As Carscallen notes:

> Exploring Science[13] (Canadian edition) provides a laboratory orientation....For example in the first volume a few paragraphs about warm blooded animals and heat loss in cold temperatures are followed by an experiment to demonstrate an adaptation to help warm blooded animals adjust to cold temperatures. This is followed by more information...and then more experiments.
>
> ...The laboratory orientation of the three volumes of this series provides the initial impression that science is an activity centered upon experiments conducted in laboratories without a particular cultural context. Close examination shows that this is not the case.

> ...In the first volume 275 photo sources are listed... fewer than half a dozen are identifiably Canadian....For example, the chapter "Minerals and Their Uses" contains a photo identified as "Old Faithful Geyser, Yellowstone National Park". Others in Volume III include glaciers on Mt. Rainier in Washington, volcanic activity at Crater Lake, Oregon, an example of a caldera, Devil's Tower, Wyoming, the great coal beds of Pennsylvania and the deposits of sediments along the Mississippi Delta and the Grand Canyon.
>
> Some of the American examples are more striking as they are accompanied by Canadian information. For instance, a section on "Man's Influence on Nature" in the third volume contains a paragraph noting potential jurisdictional disputes between National Parks biologists inclined to let predators live in wild areas and provincial wildlife management officials. This information is then accompanied by a table which indicates the number of predators killed in the U.S. by government officials since 1963. (14)

The approach of the non-multinational materials is substantially different. Again to take one example, in The Geology of Saskatchewan[15], commissioned by the province and contracted out for printing, in the introduction the approach is outlined explicitly:

> The best way to study geology is to relate it to the region where we live. We know the land and we have the chance to go out in the field to make our own investigations. This book is about Saskatchewan geology but it is also about all geology....As we look at it (Saskatchewan) we gain a better understanding of the working of the earth as a whole. (16)

To provide some examples of content again, following Carscallen:

> Questions follow headings within chapters which are subsequently answered. For example:
>
> CAMBRIAN PERIOD
>
> Did Saskatchewan ever lie on the equator?
>
> ...As time went on the sea gradually spread across the continent...and reached across Alberta into Saskatchewan....The shield was a

> land from which rivers washed mud, silt and sand into the sea where they accumulated into beds of sedimentary rock. In the Wood Mountain and Swift Current areas this rock contains helium which has seeped up from the precambrian rocks below. (17)

> Almost every page contains maps of Saskatchewan and/or North America on which Saskatchewan is outlined.... Textual references are made to North America and the rest of the world...to provide a perspective for the geology of Saskatchewan. (18)

As can be seen from these extracts, both approaches can be seen to be investigative. However, while one roots the Canadian student to science and introduces the home market of the original edition, i.e., the expanse of the U.S., the other applies science to the child's environment thereby rooting him/her more firmly and expansively in his/her own life while at the same time pointing out how the information provided can be a foundation for understanding the world beyond.

Multinationals as Educational Publishers: An Overview

Educational publishers must yield to the organizational imperatives of their own business form. Being for the most part multinational companies, no matter where they are based, they are guided by a distinctive set of imperatives. First, they are oriented to world markets. With branch plants potentially around the world, educational publishers, just like car manufacturers, are constantly on the lookout for the export of products which they have developed for home markets. With such an outlook, they can plan their

materials to minimize the changes required by moving between markets. For example, not only is the explicit mention of the national culture of the home market underplayed to make the books initially more appealing outside their country of origin (which is not to say likewise for the implicit communication of values), but also in the adapted version explicit mention of a second national culture is not written in. Besides the fact that there is no room for such changes in low cost editorial renationalization, there is every likelihood that the inserted explicit content and the implicit values of the original material would be quite contradictory. Even the new wrinkle, "world product mandating", a device designed to stimulate initiative (and life expectancy) in branch plants, does nothing to lessen the transcultural bias inherent in such business procedures.

Multinational publishers are also oriented to their own manufacturing technology. Working as they do with very large start-up costs, but with potentially huge sales, the use of expensive technology becomes a small fraction of the per unit cost. Thus illustrators are presently paid more per story than are authors (for elementary reading series) and four colour printing has become a minimal requirement for almost every textbook. In smaller markets these cosmetics would be far too costly.

The ability of educational publishers to take advantage of cosmetic techology has considerable implication. The large publishers as a group develop a vested interest in the use of those technologies. They lead teachers to believe that these cosmetics enhance the educational quality of their products. They encourage research showing that to be the case. In other words, through the prestige of science, they add legitimacy to their attempts to restrict competition.

Other marketing strategies serve the same purpose. Just as in sports equipment, endorsements are also to be found in educational publishing. The list of "star" consultants or even the naming of certain editors often is done more to establish the prestige of the products than because such individuals have contributed in any major way to the creation of the book(s). With a considerable development, technological and image investment, products are then "piggy-backed" on one another and an attempt is made to establish brand loyalty. Piggy-backing involves the introduction of one product riding on the back of the success of a first. In trade publishing, subsidiary rights covering television, movies, serialization, mass paperbacks and so forth are piggy-backed on the initial publication of the book. Brand loyalty is closely related to piggy-backing. In general people buy products of the same brand as products with which they have been satisfied. In educational publishing these two marketing techniques translate as follows. Supplements to textbooks in the form of workbooks, tests, and teacher's guides are piggy-backed on the textbook. Many elementary materials have "management systems" which may cost up to $50 per teacher per grade. These are made up of supplementary materials that are "integrated" into the basic classroom materials themselves. Similarly, senior geography and history textbooks endorsed by professionals have accompanying tests which the teacher can purchase, to save him or herself a great deal of time and effort. In addition, the multinationals are tending to develop "programs" rather than materials for individual grades. Integrated language arts programs spanning grades 1 through 6 and more recently 1 through 8 are now common. Some companies have programs which not only encompass all elementary grades, but span subjects. Ginn, for example, merges piggy-backing

with brand loyalty by naming its programs Starting Points in Reading,[19] Starting Points in Mathematics,[20] and Starting Points in Language.[21]

The result of these tendencies, and Paul Robinson has provided other examples,[22] is that the field becomes dominated with a style of product which is only within the capability of a multinational, a style which becomes accepted as basic to the "quality" of materials.

The domination of a production technology only accessible to the multinational publisher has another, very disturbing spin-off, a spin-off which anticipates the direction of the technology. In recent educational conferences and discussions dominated by publishers and administrators, the concept "teacher-proof" has often been introduced. The derivation of the concept is this. Multinationals have come to generate so much for the classroom that they have come to control much of the teaching process and many of the activities of the classroom. As a result, they have come to believe that it is they who control whether and how much learning takes place in the classroom. They seem to want to take over responsibility for the learning process and its measurement completely. It is not uncommon to hear proposals suggesting that teachers might assume a more social role and leave the teaching of specific subject matter to publishers' employees. Publishers would undertake this activity under contract to produce a certain level of performance. Such a scenario becomes feasible only with the acceptance of transnational educational goals and values as primary to the educational endeavour.

Business Interests as Pedagogy

It is rare that a philosophy manages to capture the motive force of a culture at its zenith and still more rare when it succeeds in being translated into a set of guiding principles for a profession intrinsic to the full blooming of that culture and philosophy. It is also on rare occasions in history that structures are open enough, and needs are changing sufficiently, that new business forms can arise which embody the energy and potential of that culture.

The philosophy of American pragmatists of whom John Dewey is the most appropriate exemplar is an elegant encapsulation of American liberal democracy and has been an invaluable foundation for education appropriate to the development and expansion of the American empire. It was the ideas of Dewey which laid the foundation for the commanding influence which psychology, the science of behaviour, now has in North American education. In fact, it could be said that Dewey laid the requisite foundations for the discovery and embracing of the developmental psychology of Jean Piaget, which, in one form or other, is now basic to Western education.

At the same time as Dewey was laying down his principles and educators were applying these principles to classroom practice, curriculum design and learning materials design, a business form was being created which would also encapsulate the essentials of the expanding American ideals and empire. The corporation set up to mass produce products which had been developed not with homage to historical form but with reference to their utility, served American frontier expansion admirably. What led to American dominance in business outside its national boundaries was not merely that more enterprises were

needed to serve the expanding American frontier than were required for others such as Canada, Australia or the fragmented frontiers of Latin America; and not only that the American bourgeoisie severed their ties fairly expediciously with mother country; that American immigrants were fleeing oppression of various sorts and were insisting upon the enshrining of the freedom of the individual and freedom of enterprise in their constitution; that these immigrants were from countries where the protestant work ethic was dominant; and that the land was fertile and climate quite hospitable; but also that success in mass production for a market as vast as that of the U.S. was an almost unshakeable foundation for expansion into smaller markets at run-on prices. As other nations erected tariff barriers to protect local enterprise the multinational was created by determined enterpreneurs insistent upon their right to do business. It leapt over these barriers with direct investment and at once created the branch plant and the multinational itself.

The economic consequences of multinationals are well enough understood. Profits and market shares accrue to foreigners. What is somewhat less well understood are the cultural consequences of multinationals. Not only do products and their attendant marketing and promotion shape the direction, speed and pattern of commercial and therefore cultural development but also commanding, elite positions are given to foreigners whose allegiances, if they have any, are to home nation. These influences lead to imitative patterning in both the economy and the culture and secondly to a necessarily colonial mentality which must make continual reference to absentee owners.

It is the cultural consequence of the multinational business form which so nicely complements Deweyan philosophy. Here business interests become

pedagogy. As Dewey defined the child as an entity at the centre of the curriculum, a definition which would lead to the consolidation of psychology as the dominant foundational social science in education, the child was seen to be shaped by biology and pan-cultural peer and adult-child relations. Whatever minimal cultural particularities Dewey wrote into his formulations the psychologists let pass away. Most significantly, they have been complemented in their view by the realpolitik of publishers. Through product development, editorial policy and marketing techiques publishers have helped to legitimize a transnational or pan-cultural world view of education consonant with their technological and organizational capabilities. "Quality" has become a captured word with roots in expensive manufacturing processes and technologically sophisticated "piggy-backed" support materials of unproven educational value. In Canada's case, provincial and national content has been relegated to one subject area, social studies, which shows its own reflection of the dominant values inherent in other materials.

Strategies for the Maintenance of Dominance

Awareness of the shortcomings of multinational produced materials is not going to undermine their predominant position. As I point out in a forthcoming book[23] the set of assumptions under which the multinationals operate is shared by many curriculum developers, teachers, and education professors, not to mention society at large. In addition the entire milieu within which curricula are developed places the large publisher (minimum size being a multinational operation) in a very advantageous position. The multinationals

have trained educators to expect a level of operation as well as a style of product which is only within their capability. For example, the presence of a publishers representative in the province over one to two years prior to an adoption, ongoing field testing of one or other program at various stages of development, the ability to supply up to $1,000 worth of books free for evaluation, the ability to respond with finished products for evaluation six weeks to six months after a call for materials (which may have taken two years to formulate), the ability to provide opportunities for teachers and education professors as editors, evaluators, etc. and to be able to choose wisely from rising "stars" in the profession, the ability to carry on periodic lobbying to maintain contacts at all levels of the educational bureaucracy, and the ability to hire or consult with persons familiar with evaluation techniques and criteria as have been developed by, for example, EPIE; all these non-product oriented activities are intrinsic to the maintenance of a predominant position both in the educational marketplace and in the consequent determination of basic elements of curriculum.

Conclusion

It has been argued that publishers are a significant force in defining the curriculum. Viewed narrowly, in creating products for the curriculum they place boundaries on the implementation of the curriculum by constraining the choice which educators are able to make. Viewed more broadly, through the repetition of characteristics, e.g., four colour printing, generic story settings, history as nation building, or inquiry based science, their products come to actively influence the thinking of curriculum designers.

Two major factors have contributed to the success of the acceptance of market conveniences as educational desiderata. The first is the homogeneity of the educational publishing industry. Because the interests of the multinationals are consonant one with another, competition can be carried on within a narrow set of rules which, all things being equal, means that failure to gain an adoption in one market does not mean disqualification in another. What it may mean is a need for increased marketing and promotion to insure recovery of start-up costs in some market somewhere. But most importantly, characteristics beyond the bounds of competition, characteristics basic to the conception of all materials for a mass market become basic assumed pedagogical necessities for all "good quality" products.

The second major factor which has contributed to market concessions becoming pedagogical assumptions is that the ideology of the mass market orientation of multinational business is consonant with the ideology of liberal democracy and especially with the dominant notion of the role of education in liberal democracy. Where that philosophy and those products become most problematical is at the periphery of empire, where the centralist bias of the mass market becomes most visible; Canada in North America, rural and ethnic enclaves in nations such as Canada and the U.S.

In spite of such problems, the multinational publishers show every sign of retaining their position of influence. Perhaps with participation in new computer and communications technologies they may even expand it.

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